1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

aboriginal peoples are called by the Spanish word "Racionales" which is the equivalent of "civilizado," civilized. It was only after they came to the conclusion that I was a Pumeh also, and quite different from the Racionales, that they accepted me and made this study possible.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Yaruros are small and dark with a strong mongoloid appearance. The faces are heavy, broad, with the eyes very often showing the mongoloid fold. The average stature of the men is about 5 feet 3 inches and of the women about 4 feet 10 inches. One gets the impression that the heads are larger than the ordinary in comparison with the body size. The frame is light, both men and women possessing small, beautifully shaped hands and feet. The body is relatively hairless, as is usual among pure Indian peoples. They have strong teeth and seem to keep them until a very old age.

The Yaruros have had some contact with Europeans or mixtures of Spanish, Negro, and Indians for several centuries. Herrara reached the Meta River in 1535, and subsequently missions were established along the Orinoco and its tributaries. About 1750 a mission was established at La Urbana for the Otomacos, and one was later established at Barinas. Apparently at that time these people inhabited the region between the Capanaparo and the Apure. No missions were established for the Yaruros, and, according to Gilii, the Yaruros came to the Otomaco missions to be baptized. Father Gumilla wrote:

> Here, between the Sinaruco and Meta rivers were established the colonies of Santa Barbara and of San Juan Francisco Regis at the end of 1739, having pacified the Saruro (Yaruro) nation; of which nation Father Manuel Roman, the Superior of those missions, in a letter of February 20, 1740, gives me excellent news of their good will and docility and, which is receiving our teachings anxiously; with the hope that with the good example of these first two other Reductions will be established. He adds that in the colony of San Francisco de Borja of the same nation Sarufa, of which Father Francisco de Olmo is in charge, who has reduced their language to writing and a dictionary, Christianity is flourishing; and that already schools for writing, reading, and singing are attended by children (a short while ago they were wild); and that they sing the mass, litanies, etc., in a fair way. So much does careful and diligent effort accomplish in those wild regions! Father Rogue Lubian takes care of the Santa Teresa village with the same efficiency; Father Jose Maria Cervillini is in charge of San Ignacio; he, with Brother Agustin de la Vega, attend as best they can the rest of the new villages, and they are clamoring for workers with the firm hope that you will send them as soon as possible.

Since there has been contact with the white man and some Negroes for several centuries, one would expect a certain amount of race mixture. However, I never saw a sign of the slightest trace of Negro blood. The hair which, more than any other characteristic, seems to indicate Negro contact, in the case of the Yaruro is coarse and straight,

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots, seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or householding are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Fiaason (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion, is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

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5. This paragraph had been published when we learned of Anthony Leeds' articles (see "infra" IV List...42 and 43). The latter considers that agriculture, which exists among the Yaruro, as we acknowledge further along, was introduced by missionaries at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

descendants of the first inhabitants, hunters and gatherers who invaded South America at the beginning of the Neolithic Age, as Father Cooper suggests, or are they groups of Indians who after diverse vicissitudes have degenerated and adapted their civilization to a new way of life, as Levi-Strauss insists?"

121 Immigrants or not, hunters, fishers, and gatherers who evolved, or agriculturists who regressed, we shall not make a choice here between these alternatives and shall limit ourselves to presenting two observations which, gone into more deeply, will eventually permit opting in favor of one of the theses before us.

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241 1) The tropical savanna inhabited by the Yaruro, as a consequence of the absence of extensive forests, is hardly propitious for primitive agriculture. The latter could, however, be carried out there on a small scale.

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241 The Yaruro, in fact, and contrary to Vicenzo Petrullo's observations, are not only gatherers, fishers, and hunters, but also practice agriculture, in general on land cleared in the forest corridors. Petrullo probably did not observe this aspect of their way of life (6) because he carried out his investigations

6. We made, moreover, the identical error in the course of our first investigations (see "infra" IV List...40).

at the height of the dry season--when the soil /9/ is no longer

/20 cont./

(13) 44. Matos Arvelo, Martín, Vida Indiana, usos, costumbres, religión, industria, gobierno, ceremonias y supersticiones de los Indios /Indian Life, Customs, Habits, Religion, Industry, Government, Ceremonies, and Superstitions of the Indians/. Barcelona, 1912.

45. Metraux, Alfred, "La civilisation Guyano-Amazonienne /The Guianian-Amazonian Civilization/," Acta Americana, July-Sept. 1946, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 130-153.

46. Muller, Friedrich, "Die Sprache der Yaruros und die Betoi /The Language of the Yaruros and the Betoi/," Grundr. D. Sprach., Vol. II, Section I, Berlin, 1889, pp. 360-363. (vocabulary, grammar).

47. Olmo, Francisco del, Arte, vocabulario y catecismo de la lengua Surura o Yarura 1738 /The Art, Vocabulary, and Catechism of the Surura or Yaruro Language 1738/. (38) (The Rev. Father Olmo of the Society of Jesuits founded the mission of San Borja on the Orinoco in 1738). Work mentioned by Viñaza, Conde de la, Bibliografía Española...(cf. 60).

48. Oramas, Luis Ramón, "Contribución al estudio de la Lengua Yaruro /Contribution to the Study of the Yaruro Language/." An. Un. Cent. de Ven., Vol. X, No. 1, 1909. (some comparisons with other dialects).

49. Oramas, Luis Ramón, Vocabulario Yaruro /Yaruro Vocabulary/.

50. Paul, Luis Alberto, Noche de Indios (relato de Arauca) /A Night of the Indians (an Arauca account)/. Caracas, 1939.

51. Petrullo, Vicenzo, "Los Indios Yaruro /The Yaruro Indians/." Bol. Acad. Cien. Fis. Mat. y Nat., Vol. I, 1934.

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38. See footnote 37.